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AUTHOR Becker, Hank
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ABSTRACT

The relationship of racial factors to recent trends in enrollment of white students in private schools is examined in this paper. Demographic and school enrollment data on 157 U.S. cities were gathered from the 1960 and the 1970 census. In addition, data from a 1968 survey of civil rights and school politics in non Southern cities were used in measuring the racial, educational and political climate in these cities. Because of initial differences, and because of distinct patterns of relationships between private school enrollment and various predictors, the South and the non South are analyzed separately. Race related variables considered in the multiple regression analysis include black and white public school enrollment and changes in the teacher and pupil racial segregation indices. Non race variables include city size, central city to suburb ratio, and the age of housing. A second set of regression analyses were made. These analyses employed the former variables together with economic data and measures of local immigrant or ethnic populations. It is concluded that racial factors in local demography during the 1960's did affect the level and direction of change occuring in the use of nonpublic schooling by white families. An elaboration of this model is suggested using sociopolitical variables. (Author/GC)

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Non-public Schools and Desegregation: Racial Factors and Changes in the Share of Big-city White Pupil Enrollment Going to Non-public Schools

Hank Becker
Center for Social Organization of Schools
Johns Hopkins University

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The proportion of children going to non-public elementary and secondary schools in the United States has been declining rather consistently for the last decade and a half. In 1959-60, about 14% of American schoolchildren attended private and parochial schools. By 1975-76, it was estimated that only about 9% were attending such schools ("School Enrollment Trends," 1976). Many reasons have been given for the continual decline in the non-public share of pre-college enrollment: for example, the large additions to school tuition costs, the outward expansion of metropolitan housing, and a decreasing influence of the religious perspective in an increasingly cosmopolitan nation (Adams, 1976).

The decline in non-public enrollments, however, has shown some marked variations by location and by type of school. While Roman Catholic-affiliated schools--which even today contain over three-quarters of the total non-public school enrollment in the U.S.--have had major declines in their school populations, enrollments in schools sponsored by certain other religious denominations have been on the increase. Schools sponsored by evangelical Protestant groups increased in enrollment from 1965 to 1975 by a factor of 4 or 5. Other school groups--non-sectarian private schools and Lutheran-affiliated schools, for example, have had essentially constant or modestly increasing enrollments over this period (Erickson, et al., 1977).

The Southern U.S. states have shown a marked difference from the rest of the country in their non-public school enrollment trends. In the Northeast, the Midwest, and the Western states, the proportion of students attending non-public schools declined by one-third between

1960 and 1975. However, the non-public share has risen in the Southeastern states--their share having increased from about 6% to 9% during those years.

Smaller and larger cities in the same general area seem to have experienced similar changes in their non-public shares of school enrollments. This suggests that broad regional sub-cultural factors are responsible for a large part of the differential trends that are occuring.

It may be, for example, that increased real incomes among Southern protestant families have enabled that group to select parochial schooling as a viable alternative more than in the past. In contrast, the aging and increased assimilation of the heavily Catholic European immigrant population of Eastern and Midwestern cities and towns has no doubt been an important factor in the major declines in non-public school enrollment in these places.

When these broad cultural and economic factors are taken into account, however, a nagging question remains in many people's minds--and that is to what extent does the issue of race enter the picture. More particularly, it has been suggested that non-public schools are increasingly being used as a refuge by white families seeking to avoid experiences of racial integration or an unfavorable racial balance in their children's public school assignment.

Such a hypothesis, if shown to be correct, could account, for example, for the distinctive enrollment trends experienced by the American South. Until recently, the effort to desegregate public schools concentrated more on breaking up the de jure segregated systems of the South than on the residentially-determined school segregation

more common to Northern and Western cities. As a consequence, Southern white parents are more likely to have experienced an increased risk of having their children assigned to a public school with a negatively valued racial composition. Thus, it may be this regional differential in increased risk of public school integration rather than any regional differentials with respect to changes in capacity to financially support non-public schools that may be responsible for the regional variations in non-public school enrollment trends.

If white families are using non-public schools as alternatives to undesired racial heterogeneity in the public schools, racial variables should be found to be significant in other ways than merely accounting for regional variations in enrollment trends.

In particular, it may be that within a geographic region, districts that have a larger black public school population or that have experienced larger increases in this population or whose public schools have experienced the most extensive desegregation may be the same districts that have experienced the least declines or the greatest increases in non-public school enrollments by white students.

Of course, merely finding an association between a school system's racial composition or its desegregation activities and non-public school enrollment does not prove a case of causality. However, it is possible to statistically control on several factors that are also correlated with the racial variables in order to develop a better understanding about the probable validity of a causal hypothesis that links race factors in public school enrollment with non-public enrollments by whites. At any event, it is such a premise which has guided this research.

It is important to note that factors that may be associated with (or even responsible for) a high proportion of whites attending non-public schools may not be the same factors that are related to causing changes in the whites' non-public school proportion. In other words, identifying determinants of a trend is not the same as identifying determinants of an initial state. In fact, there is a certain degree of regression towards the mean, here, since in our data a high initial proportion of white non-public enrollment is associated with a decrease in percent non-public enrollment by whites. Thus, our analysis will focus on factors that may be responsible for changes in non-public enrollment by white students rather than correlates and causes of the city's white population's current level of non-public school usage.

Secondly, it should be noted that changes in the proportion of whites attending non-public schools are generally the result of a combination of three distinct demographic processes: (1) unequal external migration rates by public- and non-public-attending pupils; (2) unequal numbers of transfers between the two types of schools; and (3) variations between entering and departing cohorts in their distribution of choices of schooling. Unfortunately, without individual-level data collected longitudinally, it is impossible to distinguish among these processes. Nevertheless, to the extent that any of these processes are the result of white reactions to the racial composition and desegregation of public schools, the net effect is the same. Our goal in this paper is to determine whether such a net effect does in fact exist.

In order to examine the role of race in recent non-public school enrollment trends, demographic and school enrollment data on 157 U.S. cities were gathered from 1960 and 1970 U.S. Census reports and from recent articles and papers on school and residential segregation within U.S. cities (Coleman, et al., 1976; Sorensen, et al., 1975; Farley, 1975; Rossell, 1975-76). In addition, data from a 1968 survey of civil rights and school politics in non-southern U.S. cities were obtained to use in measuring the racial and educational political climate in these cities (Kirby, et al., 1973).

Since each source of data covers a different universe of cities, much of the analysis is based on less than 157 cities. In addition, since no more recent comparable demographic and school enrollment data are available, the findings admittedly lack some currency. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they can be useful in approaching an understanding of the relationship of racial factors to recent trends in enrollment of white students in non-public schools.

The largest 62 of the 157 cities in our data-pool are listed in Figure 1, along with the proportion of their white schoolchildren who were enrolled in non-public schools in 1960 and 1970. As expected, Southern cities and, to a lesser extent, Northern cities with relatively large black populations are the cities whose non-public enrollment share increased during the 1960's. In descending order according to the size of the increase, they are Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Kansas City, Tampa, Miami, Jacksonville, Charlotte, Dallas, Nashville, Birmingham, Fort Worth, Philadelphia, Detroit, Newark, New York City,

Figure 1

Percent of Whites in Non-Public Schools

Figure 1, cont.

Percent of Whites in Non-Public Schools

and Oakland. The smaller cities with the greatest increases were located in similar areas of the country: Jackson, Miss., Mt. Vernon, New York, Atlantic City, East St. Louis, Durham, N.C., and Chester, Pennsylvania. Overall, the correlation between the racial composition of the public schools in 1960 and the change in the proportion of white schoolchildren attending non-public schools was quite high (r = .46).

Of the 157 cities in our data-base, 48 are in the portion of the Southern U.S. that retained considerable elements of its two-tier educational system after the 1954 Supreme Court decision on segregated schools. Because of their obviously distinct initial differences from the remaining cities, and because, as we shall see, the pattern of relationship between non-public school enrollment and various predictors differs significantly between South and "non-South," we will consider the two broad national regions separately in our analysis. Of course, this means that our degrees-of-freedom become severely limited, and some consideration must be given to the possibility that sampling variation may be responsible for results that would normally be regarded as substantively important.

Table 1 gives the means and standard deviations of the variables we shall consider initially in our analysis. While the regional differences in trends in non-public enrollment by white pupils are not so striking as we may have been lead to expect from overall national data, there are some interesting differences. While Southern cities experienced an increase in the share of white elementary school enrollment going to non-public schools, the non-public share of high school enrollment declined. The contrary pattern is observed for the non-South:

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations, South and non-South

Variables	SOUTH N=48 except where noted		NON-SOUTH N=109 except where noted	
	Mean	Stand. Dev.	Mean	Stand. Dev.
Dependent:				
Change in the proportion of white schoolchildren who attended non-public schools, 1960-1970				
All grades, K-12	+1.00%	4.35	-1.90%	4.51
Elementary, K-8	+1.87%	4.62	-2.66%	4.49
High School, 9-12	-0.66%	4.87	+0.53%	5.67
Independent:				
Race-related				
Percent Black, Public Schools, 1960	32.48%	14.35	20.84%	14.84
Percent Increase, Number Black Schoolchildren, '60-'70	+43.07%	29.65	+76.23%	67.03
Percent Increase, Number White Schoolchildren, '60-'70	+29.96%	74.39	+7.91%	39.63
Change in Pupil Racial Segregation Index, Pub. Sch., '67-'70	-13.48	13.49	-5.97%	11.82
Change in Teacher Racial Segregation Index, '67-'70	-54.37	26.30	-7.94%	17.30
Non-race variables				
Proportion enrolled in non-public schools, whites, 1960	12.67%	7.93	24.39%	11.39
Size of City (LN avg., 1960, 1970 population)	10.15	0.82	10.40	0.95
Age of Housing (Percent housing built before 1950)	47.24%	14.28	66.00%	18.20
Central City vs. Suburb	0.94	0.24	0.86	0.35

non-public enrollment shares for elementary schools declined in most cities, but the mean value for high school students actually increased.

The Southern and non-Southern cities had very different experiences of racial demographic change in the 1960's. The 48 Southern cities we studied started the 1960's with a much greater proportion of blacks among their public school students than did the remaining 109 cities. On the other hand, they experienced smaller increases of black students during the decade, both in absolute terms and relative to white pupil increases during the decade. However, public schools in the South did experience greater desegregation, both in terms of pupil assignment and in terms of faculty desegregation. The index measuring the level of racial segregation of teachers declined by an average of half its maximum value between 1967 and 1970 in the Southern cities. While student segregation declined by only a fourth as much, this was still twice the desegregation experienced by the non-Southern cities during this period.

Within each region, these racial factors were associated to varying degrees with changes in the distribution of white schoolchildren to to public and non-public schooling (Table 2). Among the cities of each region, the higher the proportion black in the public schools in 1960, the greater the non-public sector's share of the white enrollment in 1970, net of its 1960 share. The product moment correlations were high, on the order of .4 in each region. Among non-Southern cities, non-public enrollment increases were experienced in cities with greater decreases (or smaller increases) in the white school age population, especially relative to changes in the black school age population.

Table 2

Correlations with Increases in Non-public School Shares of White Students, 1960-1970

Dependent Variables:	Increase in Percent Non-Public, Whites, All grades			E: Increase, grades K-8 H: Increase, grades 9-12	
Independent Variables:	All schools (N=157 except where noted)	South (N=48..)	Non-South (N=109...)	South (M=48...)	Non-South (N=109...)
Percent of 1960 public school enrollees who were black	+.47	+.36	+.44	E: +.37 H: +.20	E: +.35 H: +.51
Percent Increase in number of black school-children, 1960-1970	-.02	-.17	+.09	E: -.19 H: -.07	E: +.11 H: +.04
Percent Increase in number of white school-children, 1960-1970	-.08	+.11	-.37	E: +.15 H: -.05	E: -.28 H: -.49
Decrease in Public school Racial Segregation (Dissimilarity Index), 1967 to 1970	+.25 (N=140)	+.33 (N=45)	+.12 (N=95)	E: +.28 H: +.36	E: +.16 H: +.01
Decrease in Teacher Racial Segregation, 1967-1970 Public Schools	+.34 (N=140)	+.37 (N=45)	+.16 (N=95)	E: +.36 H: +.31	E: +.21 H: +.03
Proportion of White schoolchildren enrolled in non-public schools, 1960	-.19	-.42	+.04	E: -.37 H: -.38	E: -.06 H: +.27
Size of City (Natural log, Total Pop., Avg. 1960 and 1970)	-.29	-.23	-.27	E: -.23 H: -.17	E: -.27 H: -.22
Age of Housing (Percent built before 1950)	+.02	+.10	+.22	E: +.08 H: +.12	E: +.12 H: +.40
Central City vs. Suburb Dichotomy	-.03	+.18	-.15	E: +.19 H: +.10	E: -.16 H: +.08

This factor was not correlated with non-public enrollment trends in Southern cities. However, in the South, the greater the amount of school desegregation, the larger the increase of non-public school attendance by white students (correlations in the .3-.4 range).

Of course, our interest is largely in whether these racial factors --desegregation in the South, black in-migration and white-outmigration in the North, and an initially high concentration of black pupils in both regions--are causally responsible for city differences in non-public school-going trends.

The possibility of spurious causal inference from these correlations is obvious. In the North, for example, the age of the city's housing (proportion built before 1950) is correlated over .7 with the decline in the white school age population and nearly .4 with the percent black among the 1960 public school pupils. Since it is also associated with increases in "percent non-public" among white students, such a factor must be obviously statistically controlled. In the South, desegregation of students was more extensive in the smaller cities ($r = .35$), and it was in the smaller cities where there was a greater increase in non-public enrollments.

In order to separate out the unique effects of racial factors from other between-city demographic differences and changes taking place during the decade of the 1960's, multiple regression procedures were employed for Southern and non-Southern cities separately. Two sets of regressions were run on each region--the second one including additional socio-economic variables that were not available on all cities in each region. Separate series of regression analyses were performed on three

dependent variables: the change between 1960 and 1970 in the proportion of all white students (non-black students, 1970), K-12, enrolled in non-public schools; and corresponding measures of change in percent non-public for the elementary school-going (K-8) population and for the high school (9-12) population.

In the first set of regressions, nine predictor variables were employed: five "racial" factors (percent black, public schools 1960; percent change, white school-attending population, '60-'70; percent change, black school-attending population, '60-'70; change in the pupil racial segregation index; and change in the teacher racial segregation index) and four "non-racial" ones (percent of whites enrolled in non-public schools, 1960; age of housing; log of city population, 1960-70 average; and a dummy variable for central city status).

From the results of the first set of regression analyses (Table 3), it appears that race-associated demography may, in fact, be significant in affecting non-public school shares of white enrollments.

In the North (non-South) four predictors had been highly inter-correlated: declines in the white schoolchild population, proportion black among public school students (1960), age of housing, and initial high proportion in non-public schools. Correlations among these variables ranged from .36 to .72, and averaged .52. Of these four predictors, only the public school racial composition and the decline in the white school-age population (now net of black school-age population changes) had significant positive regression coefficients. That is, controlling on age of housing and 1960 use of non-public schools, declines in the number of white children and an initially high proportion

Table 3

Multiple Regression of Increases in Percent Non-Public, Whites, 1960-1970

(First set of predictors; ordinary least squares regression)

	Non-South (N=95)			South (N=45)		
	All schools		E: elementary H: high schools	All schools		E: elementary H: high schools
	Zero-order correlations	β	β	Zero-order correlations	β	β
Percent Decrease, number of white schoolchildren '60-'70	+.41	+.46**	E: +.43** H: +.48**	-.15	+.08	E: +.03 H: +.22*
Percent black, 1960 public schools	+.45	+.41**	E: +.36** H: +.37**	+.32	+.43**	E: +.44** H: +.25*
Percent Increase number of black schoolchildren, '60-'70	+.15	+.30**	E: +.29** H: +.24**	-.10	-.02	E: -.10 H: +.16
Size of City	-.31	-.26**	E: -.21** H: -.31**	-.14	+.12	E: +.10 H: +.11
Proportion enrolled in non-public schs. 1960, Whites	+.05	-.20*	E: -.23** H: -.05	-.50	-.60**	E: -.56** H: -.51**
Age of City Housing	+.20	-.08	E: -.11 H: -.01	+.02	-.06	E: -.10 H: +.03
Decrease in teacher racial segregation, public schools, '67-'70	+.16	+.08	E: +.10* H: +.02	+.37	+.14	E: +.14 H: +.15
Central Cities vs. suburbs	-.16	+.05	E: -.01 H: +.18**	+.18	-.09	E: -.08 H: -.08
Decrease in pupil racial segregation public schools, '67-'70	+.12	+.04	E: +.06 H: -.03	+.33	+.13	E: +.06 H: +.23*
R^2	--	.48	E: .41 H: .52	--	.48	E: .46 H: .36

*F greater than 1.0

**$p < .05$; F greater than (3.9 - 4.1)

of public school blacks both are associated with an increased proportion of whites attending non-public schools. As a matter of fact, the partial association of the initial state variable (percent non-public, 1960) with changes in non-public enrollment was significantly negative, although the zero-order correlation was negligible. This suggests that the expected decline of non-public enrollment in cities with formerly high non-public shares was prevented from occuring in the North by even faster declines of public school white enrollment in areas with large (and growing) black school-age populations.

One other result of the non-Southern equations should be noted. The regression coefficient for the size of the increase of the black school-age population (relative to changes in the corresponding white population) was significantly positive ($\beta = .30$) and twice the zero-order correlation. This is another indication that in the North, the changes that occurred in non-public enrollments were in large respects a response to a large and growing black school-age population.

Parallel regression equations for changes in white enrollments in non-public elementary school grades and in non-public secondary school grades were quite similar. In these regressions, all but one of the partial relationships discussed above were comparable in size to those for the school-age white population as a whole. The only exception was that no regression effect of initial non-public enrollment shares was observed for high school students. Overall, about half of the between-city variance in changes in white non-public enrollments were accounted for by the nine predictor variables in the equations.

Based on the first set of regression results for the South, racial

demographic factors appear to be related to changes in non-public attendance rates by whites in a different manner than in the North. Only one racial variable was statistically significant: the larger the percent black in the 1960 public school population, the greater the increase in the non-public share of white enrollment (particularly elementary school enrollment). While the relatively large amount of teacher desegregation and smaller degree of pupil desegregation that occurred produced regression coefficients consistently in the expected direction, these were of modest size (.06 to .23), and only in the case of pupil desegregation affecting high school non-public enrollments was this factor statistically significant. What these two results suggest is that it may be the fear of future desegregation rather than actual new experiences by white public school students of racial integration that may have been responsible for increased non-public school attendance between 1960 and 1970.

Two other points from the regression results for the Southern cities should be noted. First, the most significant regression coefficient predicting increases in white non-public enrollments had nothing to do with race at all. Namely, it appears that a very strong regression-towards-the-mean trend was occuring among Southern cities. Cities with very small initial non-public enrollments were establishing and filling non-public schools, regardless of public school desegregation or racial composition. Secondly, changes in the non-public enrollment share were not due to race-differentials in population growth as they most certainly were in the Northern cities.

In summary, the first set of regression results tend to confirm the notion that racial factors appear to have been important determinants of changes in the non-public school attendance of white students, although the particular factors responsible appear to have been different in the North than in the South. In the Southern cities, a large black public school population combined with the threat of desegregation may have brought about an increase in non-public enrollments. In the North, relative increases in the non-public share of white enrollment appear to have been the result of the increased numbers of blacks in already racially mixed school systems combined with declines in the number of whites enrolling in public school.

It is important to note, however, that especially in the South, these racial factors made only a modest amount of difference in the distribution of white enrollment between public and non-public schools. Non-public schools in Southern cities gained an average of 1 percentage point between 1960 and 1970 in their share of white enrollment. Using the regression equations, it can be shown (see Table 4) that if a Southern city had had a black public school population of 20%, experienced no teacher or pupil desegregation during the 1960's, but was otherwise similar to the mean Southern city, its non-public schools would have been predicted to have lost 2.4 percentage points of total white enrollment during that period. Another average Southern city with, however, a 40% black public school population and experiencing a heafty dose of desegregation (teacher segregation index decrease of 60 points and pupil decrease of 25 points) would have been predicted to have gained 2.8% in its non-public enrollment share of white students. In either case, the proportion enrolled in non-public schools would have been far less than in most Northern cities.

Table 4

Applying Regional Prediction Equations* to Cities with Various Aggregate Racial Attributes

	Southern Cities (45)					Non-Southern Cities (95)				
	b	Average City	A	B	Non-Southern Racial Attributes	b	Average City	A	B	Southern Racial Attributes
Percent Black, 1960	+.141	31.1	20	40	22.3	+.123	22.3	10	33	31.1
% Incr. Black Children	-.00316	45.4	45.4	45.4	75.5	+.0201	75.5	20	100	45.4
% Incr. White Children	-.00459	32.1	32.1	32.1	-6.2	-.0574	-6.2	20	-20	32.1
Desegregation Pupils	+.0404	13.6	none	25.0	5.9	+.0145	5.9	5.9	5.9	13.6
Desegregation Teachers	+.0233	55.1	none	60.0	8.1	+.0210	8.1	8.1	8.1	55.1
Predicted change in non-public school share (all grades) (percentage points)		+1.0	-2.4	+2.8	-2.0		-1.9	-5.3	+1.4	-1.3

*Model including 4 other predictors: initial percent in non-public schools, age of housing, size of city, central city status

Similarly, we can take two hypothetical Northern cities and apply their prediction model. A Northern city with only a 10% black public school enrollment in 1960 and in which both the black school age and the white schoolage populations increased by 20% during the decade would have been predicted to have experienced a drop in its non-public share of 5.3 percentage points. A city in the same region that had had a 33% black public school enrollment and that experienced a 100% increase in the size of the black school age population but a 20% decline in the number of white school age children would have been predicted by the model to have had its non-public schools gain 1.4 percentage points as its share of total white enrollment. These compare to an overall 1.9 percentage point decline in the non-public share in the average non-Southern city.

While the demographic differences between these hypothetical cities may seem extreme, all values lie within one standard deviation of regional means. The differences, somewhat larger in the North, than for our two hypothetical Southern cities, are still modest, but they do involve thousands of pupils in an average sized city.

To what extent are regional variations in the racial composition of schools and cities and regional variations in desegregation experiences responsible for regional differences in non-public enrollment trends? This question may be answered by applying the prediction model of each region to a hypothetical city in its region which has the other region's mean values on aggregate attributes in the model. Using the prediction equation for Southern cities, a Southern city with "non-Southern means" on race variables would have experienced a decline in non-public enrollment shares typical of Northern cities (2.0 percentage

points). On the other hand, a Northern city with Southern means, applying the non-Southern equation, would have experienced a non-public enrollment decline (1.3%) smaller than that experienced by the typical Northern city (1.9%) but not the increase experienced by the Southern city with the same racial attributes.

Early in the paper it was suggested that non-public enrollment increases in the South may have more to do with an increased ability to financially support such schooling choices than with racial factors per se. The first set of demographic control variables we included in our analysis did not include any strictly economic measures. For a subset of the cities in our data pool, we obtained economic indicators of the white and black populations as of 1970: median white and median black incomes, white and black homeownership rates, and a measure of concentration of the metropolitan area's high income families (over $50,000; 1969) inside the city limits relative to the overall concentration in the city of the total metropolitan population. In addition, the proportion of the population of foreign stock (immigrant or native of foreign or mixed parentage) was also available from this data source. This data was available for 35 or our 48 Southern cities and 92 of the 109 non-Southern cities.

A second set of regression analyses were made employing both the variables from previously cited regression equations and these new economic and ethnic measures. "Old" variables whose standardized regression coefficients were at least $\pm$ .12 were forced into the regression equations first with both the remaining "old" variables and the "new" ones added in stepwise fashion until the "F to enter" dipped below 1.0. Because of missing data on one or more variables

in the matrices, the regressions were based on a universe of 80 non-Southern cities and a barely tolerable number of 34 Southern cities.

For the Southern cities, the addition of the new variables and the subtraction of 11 cities with missing data changed some of the emphasis, although not the overall tenor, of the results (Table 5). However, among the 34 cities examined, differences in white economic advantage were not significant in accounting for changes in non-public enrollment by white students. Instead it was the presence of either low median black incomes or a low black homeownership rate (themselves uncorrelated) that seemed to lead to increases in white non-public enrollments. At the same time, at the elementary school level, actual desegregation of both teachers and pupils became insignificant predictors of non-public school increases among whites. (At the high school level, such desegregation activity continued to be significantly related to increases in non-public school attendance.)

In addition, the new regression equations gave status to a variable that previously had only been significant in the North--the relative increase of the black school-age population in the city over the previous decade. Now, like in the North, this factor also predicted increased non-public enrollment by whites, both at the elementary level, and even more strongly, in high schools.

The relative presence of the metropolitan high income elite in the city's population was the only "white economic variable" that remained in the stepwise regression equations, and then only for the model that predicted elementary school enrollment changes. The role of such a moneyed group may be to bankrole new non-public school ventures, particularly, perhaps, small schools such as local neighborhood church-based

Table 5: Comparison of Zero-order, First, and Second Regression Results for Southern Cities

South

Changes in Percent Enrolled in Non-Public Schools, Whites, 196

Independent variables: [Only variables included in second regression at that grade level are shown]	All Schools Zero-order r	All Schools Regression 1 (N=45) β	All Schools Regression 2 (N=34) β	Elementary Enrollment Zero-order r	Elementary Enrollment Regression 1 (N=45) β	Elementary Enrollment Regression 2 (N=34) β	Zero-order r
Percent Enrolled in Non-Public Schools, Whites, 1960	-.42	-.60**	-.62**	-.37	-.51**	-.60**	-.38
Percent Black, Public Schools, 1960	+.36	+.43**	+.22*	+.37	+.44**	+.26*	+.20
Decrease in Pupil Segregation Index, 1967-1970	+.33	+.13	+.10	--	--	--	+.36
Decrease in Teacher Segregation Index, '67-'70	+.37	+.14	+.03	+.36	+.15	-.00	+.31
Size of City	-.23	+.12	+.02	--	--	--	--
Percent Increase, # Black school-children, '60-'70	-.17	-.02	+.19*	-.19	--	+.18*	-.07
Percent Decrease, # White school-children, '60-'70	--	--	--	--	--	--	+.05
Median Black Income, 1970	-.30	--	-.30*	-.36	--	-.39**	--
Median White Income, 1970	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.08
Black Homeownership Rate, 1970	-.33	--	-.33**	-.28	--	-.24*	-.31
Relative Presence of Metropolitan Elite	--	--	--	+.21	--	+.20*	--
R^2 (Contributions of all variables in 1st equation, even if not shown here)	--	.45	.58	--	.42	.57	--

*F greater than 1.0 **$p < .05$ ($F > 4.2$)

0-1970

High School Enrollment	
Regression 1 (N=45)	Regression 2 (N=34)
β	β
-.51**	-.45**
+.25*	+.17
+.23*	+.21*
+.15	+.16
--	--
+.16	+.40**
+.22*	+.27*
--	--
--	-.27*
--	-.34**
--	--
.36	.50

elementary schools. Recall that cities with very few, if any, non-public school choices available in 1960 were the ones which gained most in white non-public enrollment during the decade. Since it was also in cities where the metropolitan elite remained relatively well-represented within the major city that increases in non-public elementary school enrollment also occurred, it may be that this group was particularly effective in those cities seeking to establish its first few private alternatives to public schools for white students.

The second set of regressions for the non-Southern cities (Table 6) cause us to make no real modifications of our previous interpretations. While the addition of further socio-economic dimensions allow us to explain additional intercity variance in white students' school choices, they do not subtract from the predictive power of the previously identified racially related variables. The initial proportion of blacks in public schools and the relative increase of black schoolchildren and decrease of whites of the same ages continue to be strong predictors of increases in non-public attendance by white students. The desegregation of teachers, as slight as it was in the '60's, however, does become a significant predictor of increased white enrollment in non-public schools, at least for the elementary grades.

The new variables in the model explain an additional 10-15% of variance. In particular, it appears that a large European immigrant population tends to produce reduced losses of non-public school whites, as does, perhaps, a high white homeownership rate. Both these factors suggest constraints against suburban migration with the foreign stock factor suggestive of a particular constraint operating in Catholic

Table 6: Comparison of Zero-order, First, and Second Regression Results for Non-Southern Cities

Changes in Percent Enrolled in Non-Public Schools, Whites, 1960-1

Non-South	All Schools			Elementary Enrollment			Hi
	Zero-order	Regression 1 (N=95)	Regression 2 (N=80)	Zero-order	Regression 1 (N=95)	Regression 2 (N=80)	Zero-order
Independent variables: [Only variables included in second regression at that grade level are shown]	r	β	β	r	β	β	r
Percent Decrease, # White Schoolchildren, '60-'70	+.37	+.46**	+.42**	+.28	+.43**	+.36**	+.49
Percent Black, Public Schools, 1960	+.44	+.41**	+.50**	+.35	+.36**	+.42**	+.51
Percent Increase, # Black Schoolchildren, '60-'70	+.09	+.30**	+.40**	+.11	+.29**	+.38**	+.04
Size of City	-.27	-.26**	-.22**	-.27	-.21**	-.16*	-.22
% Enrolled in Non-public Schools, Whites, 1960	+.04	-.20*	-.29**	-.06	-.23**	-.34**	--
Central City Status	-.15	+.05	+.12*	--	--	--	-.08
Decrease in Teacher Segregation Index, '67-'70	+.16	+.08	+.22**	+.21	+.10*	+.22**	+.03
Age of Housing	--	--	--	--	--	--	+.40
% Foreign Stock, 1970	+.06	--	+.43**	+.01	--	+.42**	+.17
Median Black Income, 1970	-.05	--	-.14*	-.08	--	-.20**	--
White Homeownership rate, 1970	+.12	--	+.16*	--	--	--	--
Relative Presence of Metropolitan Elite	+.11	--	+.21**	--	--	--	+.07
R^2 (Contributions of all variables in 1st equation, even if not shown here)	--	.48	.59	--	.39	.53	--

*F greater than 1.0 **$p < .05$ ($F > 4.0$)

970

gh School Enrollment

Regression 1 (N=95)	Regression 2 (N=80)
β	β
+.48**	+.53**
+.37**	+.51**
+.24**	+.38**
-.31**	-.22**
--	--
+.18**	+.20**
+.02	+.12*
-.01	-.14*
--	+.30**
--	--
--	--
--	+.28**
.52	.63

(heavily non-public school-using) households. It should also be noted that the relative presence of the metropolitan elite in a city's population becomes predictive of increased use of non-public high schools in the North. In the North, where there are already large numbers of private schools in operation, the role of a moneyed population may be to populate already existing schools with their offspring rather than capitalize new ones, as we have suggested their role may have been in the South.

In general, then, our regression models have suggested that racial factors in the local demography of U.S. cities during the 1960's did affect the level and direction of change occurring during that decade in the use of non-public schooling by white families. Of course, it is possible that non-racial factors omitted from the regression models were really responsible for the effects the existing models attributed to racially related demographic changes and population composition and to racial desegregation of schools. (It may be the presence, the rapid increase, or the desegregation of <u>any</u> low income ethnically identifiable population that could have had such an effect.) However, the stability of the coefficients for many of the racially-tinged variables across different models (Southern, non-Southern; elementary; high school; smaller and larger samples of cities employing different sets of control variables) suggests that the effects, at least for the decade that passed eight years ago, were real.

<u>An Elaboration of the Model Using Socio-Political Variables</u>

Assuming changes in the racial climate of the city were responsible for increases in the proportion of the city's whites who selected non-

public schooling, it may be possible to specify the kinds of changes in the social environment that mediated in the decisions of white parents to leave the public school system. For example, to what extent might have black political movements and exercise of public displays of ethnic consciousness resulted in behavioral decisions by white parents to migrate to different school jurisdictions or to private schooling?

While there surely can be no definitive answers to such questions, it may be useful to examine measures of city political and racial climate for the purposes of discovering whether such variables might bear any responsibility at all in accounting for the relationship between racial demographic factors and changes in non-public school utilization by whites.

Eighty-six of the 109 Northern cities in our data-pool were among 91 cities chosen from a national probability sample of medium- and large-sized cities and studied in a late 1960's investigation into civil rights and school politics in the non-Southern U.S. (Kirby, et al., 1973). The study was based on structured elite interviews, conducted largely in 1968, with black and white civic and political leaders, elected and appointed city and school officials, and leaders of civil rights organizations. Indices from previous studies using this data including Kirby, et al. (1973), Morlock (1973), and Becker (1974) have been aggregated on a permanent data archive. The indices measure such dimensions of race and school politics as the level of controversy over race in the community, elite satisfaction with the public schools, militancy of the civil rights movement at the time, and so on.

Many of these indices of racial climate and local political culture were related to increases in the use of non-public schooling by white families. For example, the average level of controversy over racial issues in the city between 1960 and 1968, as reported by three selected informants (a city newspaper editor, a white politician, and a major civic leader) correlated .20 with changes in the non-public share of white enrollment. Similarly, the number of black school board members and the number of blacks named as being among the city's civic leadership by at least two informants (from five: the city editor, a past school board head, a mayor's assistant, a white political leader, and a "major civic leader") were also correlated with increases in non-public enrollments ($r = .27$ and .32 respectively).

However, most of these variables were also associated with the overall racial composition of the city. (The numbers of black school board members and black civic leaders, for example, correlated respectively .72 and .36 with percent black in 1960 public schools.) Consequently, when such demographic factors were held constant, the residual effects of these socio-political variables were generally either negligible or in the reverse direction of their zero-order correlation (see Table 7).

For example, multiple regression results indicated that, net of percent black in the 1960 school population and changes in the sizes of the black and white school-age populations, the larger the city's number of black school board members, the greater the share of <u>public</u> school enrollment among whites ($\beta = .24$). Even controlling on all statistically significant predictors in Table 6, the same result obtained: increases in non-public school utilization were associated with <u>fewer</u>, not more, blacks on the local school board. Similarly,

Table 7: Adding Socio-Political Variables to the Regression Model for 86 Northern Cities

Socio-political variables from Kirby, et al. (1973)	Zero-order r	Dependent Variable: corr. w/ % black, 1960 schs.	Increase in Percent Non-public Enrollment, Whites, 1960-1970, All Grades. Standardized regression coefficients, from pairwise present matrix (N=66 to 86) using demographic and other control variables shown below.*			
			Regr. 1	Regr. 2	Regr. 3	Regr. 4
White citizen demonstrated opposition to school deseg.	+.32	+.14	+.26	+.27	+.14	--
Earliness and variety of black civil rights protest	+.04	+.51	-.29	-.23	-.21	--
Controversy over education issues in city since 1960	+.27	+.12	+.18	+.13	--	--
Quality of public schools' education (as viewed by elite informants)	-.39	-.37	-.18	-.15	-.13	-.13
Number of black school board members	+.27	+.72	--	-.24	-.17	-.21
Number of black protests in city since 1960	+.00	+.28	--	-.14	--	--
Presence of court-order to desegregate (by 1971)	-.03	-.05	--	+.12	--	-.13
Existence of counter-vailing power center to business domination of city politics	+.19	+.26	--	+.10	--	+.12
Level of controversy in city since 1960 over variety of issue areas	+.24	+.21	--	--	+.14	+.13
Number of blacks among civic elite	+.32	+.36	--	--	--	--
Controversy over racial issues in city since 1960	+.20	+.09	--	--	--	--
Militancy of civil rights movement	-.11	-.12	--	--	--	--
Radicalness of school board civil rights actions	-.07	-.21	--	--	--	--
Percent of black students transferred and resulting in less segregation	+.02	-.12	--	--	--	--
R^2, all variables shown here plus control variables			.34	.52	.58	.62

R^2, control variables only	.14	.30	.46	.53
Variance added by socio-political variables	.20	.22	.10	.09

* Control variables:

Regr. 1 = % black, pub. sch., 1960 (β = .40).

Regr. 2 = % black, pub. sch., 1960 (β = .60), % incr., no. black schoolchildren (β = .32), % decr., no. white schoolchildren (β = .41).

Regr. 3 = (as above), % black (.70), % incr. black (.33), % decr., white (.47), LN city size (-.17), % non-public, 1960 (-.39), teacher deseg. (.20), % foreign stock (.26).

Regr. 4 = % black (.50), % incr. blacks (.35), % decr., whites (.43), city size (-.19), % non-public, 1960 (-.27), teacher deseg. (.27), % foreign stock (.26), relative presence of metropolitan elite (.28).

the "earlier" and more varied that black civil rights protests occurred in the city, net of racial demographic factors, the greater the decline in non-public school utilization by remaining whites. (This result was found in three of four regressions, but not when the relative presence of metropolitan elite was controlled for.)

These results suggest a pattern--unexpected but not necessarily unbelievable. The more visible the black population in the political and civic culture of the city (relative to its proportion in the population), the less likely that whites will flee public for private schooling. Early public demonstration of the need for blacks to be taken seriously politically (early and varied black protests) combined with an early recognition of the political and social rights of the black population (blacks appointed or elected to school board) may make the white population more accustomed to the idea of a desegregated urban society. If they are not necessarily more willing to live in integrated neighborhoods (whites may still be migrating towards suburbia in larger numbers), those that stay are at least willing to have their children experience public schooling with children of this unavoidably recognized and politically emergent population.

Three other variables included in these regression equations tend towards more traditional interpretations, although only one directly involves race. In three equations, the higher the demonstration of white citizen opposition to school desegregation (as reported by a school board member active in dealing with school civil rights questions), the greater the increase in non-public school utilization by whites. (Betas ranged between .14 and .27.) Secondly, the higher the

level of controversy in the city over education and over public issues in general, the greater the increase in the non-public schools' share of white pupils, (β between .13 and .18). Finally, the poorer the evaluation given by five elite informants concerning their city's schools' performance in educating young people relative to other cities', the greater the increase in the non-public enrollment share of whites, (β = .13 to .18).

All of these variables, it may be noted, are related to areas of explicit public controversy about the public school system--conflict in general, with respect to desegregation in particular, and in terms of an evaluation of the system's performance. Thus, it seems clear that explicit conflict, about racial issues and about other aspects of education--as distinct from expressions and recognition of black political power--does result in flight from the public schools by whites. It may also result in flight into non-public schools by blacks, although we have not addressed that question in our study to date.

The purpose of inserting socio-political variables into the analysis was to attempt to account for some of the racial-demographic partial associations with non-public enrollment changes. In none of the regressions, however, did regression coefficients for these variables decline. Many, in fact, were stronger with the socio-political environments held constant. Thus, regardless of the independent effect of these socio-political variables, it does not seem that the changing racial composition of Northern cities produced white flight into non-public schools by affecting the racial political climate, at least in so far as we have been able to measure it.

The long-term consequences of white flight into non-public schools remain to be understood. It may be, for example, that over the long run they serve an integrating force by retaining whites in integrated neighborhoods who would otherwise migrate to maintain patterns of housing segregation. Such whites could constitute a basis upon which reverse inmigration of other white families, attracted to city amenities, could re-establish their presence. On the other hand, the typical transition from all-white to all-black neighborhoods and public schools might only be slowed a bit, requiring just a few additional years to accomplish complete resegregation.

But regardless of its long-term consequences, it seems clear that increases in non-public school enrollments by white families were occurring during the 1960's and probably are still occurring as a result of the demographic changes in city neighborhoods and public school systems and, to a much lesser extent, to initial inroads and potential expansion of the desegregation of public schools. While such conclusions do no more than restate conventional wisdom on this subject, it appears that, in this case, the general public and the truth are not far apart.

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